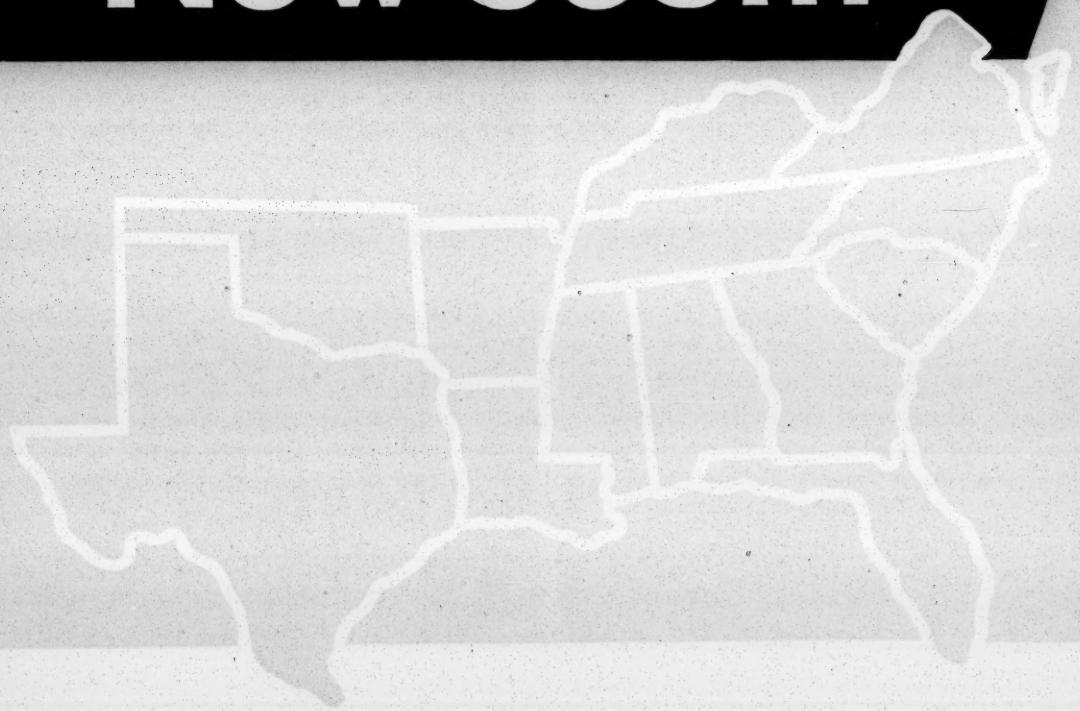
New South



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  Mrs. George A. Eddy
- **"Prevent Future Incidents"**
- **Students Bear Witness**
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JUNE 1961

New South

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New South Notes

The student sit-ins, which began a little more than a year ago in Greensboro, North Carolina, have continued with only an occasional sign of waning. The latest manifestation of this movement is the "Freedom Rides," which culminated in the Alabama riots. NEW SOUTH presents a brief background piece on the movement and its current manifestations.

In 1954, the Southern Regional Council established a number of state human relations organizations in the South. Most of the Southern states now have local human relations councils dealing specifically with race relations problems of a local nature. One of these is the Alexandria Council on Human Relations in northern Virginia. NEW SOUTH presents here the story of the Alexandria Council. The article was written by Mrs. George A. Eddy, the Council's president.

Of Mrs. Eddy, Walter Russell Bowie writes: "The article by Mrs. Eddy may not convey to the reader the most important truth concerning it. Here is the factual account of some of the results which the Alexandria Council on Human Relations has brought about; but Mrs. Eddy has told the story with such self-effacing modesty that one might not know who it was that made the whole record possible. She did. Others had started the Alexandria Council and had given it faithful interest; but it was Eileen Eddy, when she was persuaded to take the presidency only a year or so ago, who gave the spark of new imagination, the resourcefulness, and the devoted energy which has made the Council become an actual power for good."

Sit-In, Other Techniques Are Likely to Continue

May was the month in which a group of white and Negro persons started South on the "Freedom Ride" bus journey to test separate restaurant, rest room, and other facilities at bus terminals and rest stops. It also was the month in which Rudolph Bing of the Metropolitan Opera announced the met would no longer play to segregated audiences in the South. Bing's statement came after an attempt was made by Negroes to attend the opera presented in Atlanta at a rigidly segregated theater. At about the same time, a few lunch counters in the once riot-torn city of Jacksonville, Florida, were desegregated.

These are but a few of the many activities growing out of or partly inspired by student sit-ins and related activities. While not all of these have been equally well-planned and effective, they have produced change in conditions with which Southern leaders largely have been unable or unwilling to wrestle until forced to do so.

As predicted earlier by observers of race relations in the South, the sit-in and its related techniques have continued to plague the South. Judging from recent activity and from plans already developed, the end still is not in sight.

The determination of students and their supporters is vividly evident in the fact that a group of "Freedom Riders" from Nashville, Tennessee, resumed the bus trip after the initial group from Washington found itself stymied in Birmingham after two riots in Alabama. The history of the two groups has been well reported in the newspapers, including the Montgomery riots which befell the second group. Other riders have continued to test facilities in Montgomery and Jackson, Mississippi. From these experiences, it should be obvious to all that the students are determined to pursue this technique despite all that Southern law officers can do to stop them.

With the phenomenal success of the sit-in, it should be apparent that the sit-in technique, rather than being abandoned, will be expanded and revamped to serve as a weapon against as many areas of segregation as possible.

Since February 1, 1960, when the sit-ins began in Greensboro, North Carolina, several thousand students and adults have been arrested and untold numbers of business dollars have been lost in boycotts and closed lunch-counters. The result, however, has been dramatic in all areas but the deep South. By the latest estimate, some eating facilities in 126 Southern cities were reported desegregated since the initial sit-in.

In addition, merchants in deep South Atlanta have agreed to desegregate eating and other facilities in 70 stores this fall; and segregation in other cities still is

Sit-In

(Continued)

under heavy pressure from students and the adult community.

As indicated above, the sit-in technique has been extended to many other areas than lunch-counters. Negroes now sit where they have tickets for concerts and other programs in the Municipal Auditorium in Atlanta; Negro dentists recently picketed a segregated dental meeting in Atlanta; and the South is experiencing sit-ins in libraries; related activities at segregated parks; boycotts for equal employment opportunities; and increasing theater stand-ins.

Since February 1 of this year, theater stand-ins have occurred in 19 cities of the South. Three cities, Nashville, Tennessee, and Lexington and Louisville, Kentucky, now are experimenting with theater desegregation.

When lunch-counter sit-ins began early last year, some cities formed biracial committees to help solve the problem; in a number of the cities, the advisory groups did effective work. Most of the committees were abandoned, however, when lunch counters were desegregated or when sit-ins showed a temporary waning of power. In few if in any cities did city officials and business leaders move further toward ridding their cities of segregation than the then present pressure demanded.

And, yet, there was sufficient warning from a number of quarters that continued sit-in pressure could be expected.

NEW SOUTH published an article on the North Carolina cities involved in the early stages of the sit-in movement in March 1960. It said:

"The lunch-counter protest should serve as a dramatic warning to Southern leadership. All Negroes and many of the white persons interviewed during the seven-city tour [of North Carolina] indicated a strong belief that the lunch-counter demonstrations are only one phase of an intensified drive by the Negro to achieve equality in all areas of public life.

"A North Carolina newspaper editor said, 'It is silly to think the students will stop at lunch counters,' and a distinguished educator in one Negro community said that the plans were already being formulated for a drive to secure better job opportunities for Negroes when the student movement began."

Subsequent events have proven these prophecies to be true. Although demonstrations have waned at times, they seem to burst forth anew with regularity. To wit, Mississippi experienced its first sit-in on March 27, 1961, more than a year after the initial sit-in in Greensboro, N. C. On that date, a group of Negro students from a nearby college sought service at the city's libraries. City officials had the Negroes arrested. Mississippi is now experiencing other "sit-in" activities and probably can expect increased pressure in the future.

Southern officials should have realized that "sit-in" activity probably would continue when a small group met in Raleigh, N. C., during the weekend of April 15 of last year. It was here that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was organized to represent student movements against segregation in 15 Southern and border states.

Since then, SNCC has met regularly

to coordinate activities of students in the 15 states and to formulate proposals for continued activity against segregated facilities. Although students in individual protest areas are not bound by SNCC suggestions, when an SNCC proposal is made a number of protest areas generally follow. The areas that do not usually are concerned with sit-in activity of another nature and hesitate to spread efforts too thinly. For instance, theater stand-ins were proposed by SNCC as a "freedom day" project this year and, in a number of cities, students followed the suggestion. Students in other protest areas, however, still were concentrating on lunch counters and chose "freedom day" for impressive demonstrations against the initial student target.

Meeting April 21-23, in Charlotte, N. C., only a few days past its first anniversary, SNCC members formulated a number of proposals and suggestions which are being passed along to students all over the South.

One proposal, "Drive Against Travel Bias," called on all Negro students to test segregated facilities in bus and train terminals on their way home following the closing of the spring school term. If refused service or if jailed, SNCC requested that detailed complaints be sent to the Interstate Commerce Commission and the United States Attorney General. SNCC is now cooperating in the "Freedom Ride" movement. There are other proposals as well, involving voting and recreational facilities.

SNCC includes representatives from Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Mississippi, Maryland, Oklahoma, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Texas.

That continued sit-in activity is felt to be necessary and desirable by SNCC members and other students is ample evidence that Southern white officials and business leaders have not clearly read the lessons presented in earlier sit-in cases. Rather, legislatures in a number of states have moved to curb sit-in activity by laws rather than seeking to remedy the causes of sit-ins. Every state legislature which met in 1960 passed laws attempting to regulate sit-in activity. The states doing so included Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas (which legislated in 1959). North Carolina employed a law already on the books in an attempt to curb sit-in activity. The laws in regard to the sit-ins are, of course, being tested with several in the hands of the Supreme Court.

But regardless of the outcome of litigation, Southern leaders need to seek sensible solutions to the problems which inspired sit-in and related movements.

What the North Carolina Council on Human Relations said in regard to sit-ins in February 1960, is even more true today; that is:

". . . The time is *now* for state and community leadership to realize the serious and far-reaching nature of these movements and to move quickly toward finding peaceful and honorable solutions. A way can be found to deal with the moral, legal and economic aspects of the problem."

The situation has not changed materially during the intervening year. It is past time the South found the "way" before needless turmoil and irreparable harm forces a solution.

Alexandria Council Seeks Improved Race Relations

By
Mrs. George A. Eddy
President
Alexandria Council
on Human Relations

Alexandria, Virginia, began as an 18th century seaport town. In mid-twentieth century it is a railroad city of 90,000 people just across the Potomac River from the capital of the nation. The river does not, however, separate Alexandria as a Virginia city from the cosmopolitan, metropolitan area of which it is increasingly a part. Twelve percent of Alexandria citizens are Negro.

It was in this setting in March 1958 that 35 people gathered at the Virginia Seminary to organize a Council on Human Relations. Clergy and other citizens, concerned about "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court decision and the resurgence of racism, banded together and affiliated with the Virginia Council on Human Relations which was organized in 1955, shortly after the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools. Thus began the struggle to build an organization in Alexandria which would attempt to help solve some of our increasing difficulties in race relations. This is a record of our success.

The initial group described the purpose of the Council to be "a meeting ground for Virginians sincerely concerned with finding reasonable and democratic solutions to the race problems now troubling our society" and invited other interested citizens to join them. The first meeting in April heard a Negro clergyman describe the situation of the Negro citizen in Alexandria.

The first public action of the Council came in July of that year when the group wrote the School Board and City Council to express its concern over the school situation and to suggest that a biracial study committee be appointed so that Alexandria would be able to desegregate schools when the time came. And, when in August the School Board announced that 14 Negro students had applied for transfer to white schools, the Council expressed public gratification that this first step toward compliance had been made.

Promptly following the statement, a candidate for state office called for investigation of the Council by the General Assembly Committee on Offenses against the Administration of Justice. This was a "massive resistance" committee created to investigate dissenters. These events occurred against the tense background of Little Rock, much hastily adopted massive resistance legislation, and court hearings involving the possibility of closing schools in Norfolk and

Front Royal.

In spite of the tension elsewhere in the state, a few Alexandria Negroes were transferred to previously all-white schools in February 1959. The mayor made it clear in advance that law and order would be maintained, crowds would not be allowed to gather near the schools nor newspapermen allowed to seek interviews on school grounds. There was complete calm and quiet acceptance of desegregation and the police were withdrawn from the affected schools a few days later.

Meanwhile, the Alexandria Council continued to grow. Colonel Benjamin Muse and Mr. James McBride Dabbs spoke to audiences of about 100 during the first year and about 120 individuals joined the Council.

Newsletter

Early in 1959, the Council was able to send $100 to the Virginia Council and decided to concentrate on housing and employment opportunities. At about the same time, the president of the local group resigned due to ill health and for five months the Council struggled along while a dozen persons were asked and declined to become president.

Meanwhile, interested board members continued to produce an informative monthly newsletter and conducted a series of four membership meetings on job opportunities and merit employment. At two of the meetings, members heard talks by officials of the Washington Urban League and the District Job Opportunities Committee. The other two programs consisted of panels of Alexandrians including a newspaperman, a City Council member, head of guidance at the Negro high school and several brave businessmen whom we succeeded in interesting in the Council's work. A score of other businessmen were invited but did not attend.

New Impetus

By February 1960, the growth of the Council had been so small, the problems so vast, the public apathy and antagonism so complete, that Council members considered disbanding. The membership of the Council was still small; there were no active committees, no president; and the few board members who attended meetings did the work that was accomplished. Both the board and general membership were composed largely of people already active in other community enterprises, or people who wanted to support the Council's purpose but lacked the time to work actively with the group.

The Council considered dropping its official work in order to allow board and general membership to concentrate in working for better race relations through several other civic and church groups. Then, a relatively new woman board member offered "to give the presidency a whirl for a year and if we don't make any progress then we can disband."

We believed that a state election in which a leading segregationist had been defeated two-to-one had improved the climate in race relations and so we decided to continue Council work. Since desegregation of the schools was proceeding slowly in the courts led by several patient, persistent Negro leaders, there appeared little that we could do in this direction. And so, we decided to

Alexandria

(Continued)

concentrate our limited resources on employment and housing with definite objectives in mind. We also planned to proceed with steady confrontation of the community with the facts of racial injustice. We planned to prepare and distribute widely a survey showing the inequalities and deprivation of opportunity for Alexandria's Negroes. The nominating committee found an able vice-president and the Council stayed in business.

The Council was in the hands of destiny for by the end of February the newspapers were full of student sit-ins in North Carolina, and it was obvious that no area was "safe" from this inspiriting new approach. In March, a new board member, with considerable experience in human relations work elsewhere, suggested we write the Retail Merchants Association to inform them there was no place where a Negro could sit and have a cup of coffee and to suggest that some of their members open part of their counters on a first-come, first-served basis.

Lunch Counters

Continuing the program, the Council president and secretary also spent an afternoon in the main shopping area telling variety store managers our belief that the city was ready for a change and offering our help in effecting a smooth transition.

The problem became more acute when the mayor was informed of a threatened sit-in at one of the city's variety stores. He asked Negro leaders to try to persuade students to postpone sit-in activity until it was possible to see what might be worked out voluntarily. The president of the Ministerial Association and some city merchants indicated their interest; and subsequently, a bi-racial Mayor's Citizens Committee was quietly appointed. The Council's president was appointed to the committee. Alexandria's mayor, a responsible public servant, charged the committee with the task of recommending procedures to maintain law and order in the city.

Problems

At the first meeting with the national heads of two stores and the local manager of one, we heard all the problems of the stores: uncertainty as to the legal application of the segregated seating law; uncertainty as to public support for a change in the custom; the effect on stores further south; and the fear of an influx of Negro customers.

During the course of several meetings, legal interpretations by the Attorney General and Commonwealth Attorney were presented which allayed much of the managers' fears. A strong point was made of the failure of a rigid policy for all schools in Virginia as a whole as applicable to flexibility of policy for chain stores. Serious trouble by not opening lunch counters had been experienced in Richmond and nearby Arlington and the committee suggested that the best way to obviate trouble was to open the counters. Managers were assured that we would support this change, and Negro committee members offered to help control the initial flow of Negro customers. Southern Regional Council reports on desegregation of counters in

several Texas cities were given by our president to the businessmen who later specifically thanked her for them.

By July 4, 1960, the lunch counters were opened to all. The "influx" proved to be a bogeyman; there was not a single incident; and no loss of business reported. A surprise to all participants was the voluntary desegregation of a small restaurant.

The state election of 1959 in which segregationists lost ground; the token yet actual desegregation of some schools, and now the lunch counters opened to all—all without incident. Using hindsight in regard to lunch-counter segregation, we think it was only a paper wall which needed only a few good huffs and puffs to bring it down. The lesson is, we think, that the people are considerably ahead of politicians and other leaders in their readiness to accept change in local customs.

Favorable Climate

These encouraging developments gave us considerable confidence to move forward. The definite accomplishment of opening lunch counters and the climate of good will in which it was done gave an aura of success to all in the city concerned with race relations whether or not they had played a part in the desegregation process or even knew of the Council on Human Relations. In short, a favorable climate had been created by a specific action in which we had played a part.

Subsequent to the board's decision to concentrate on specific projects, the Alexandria Council, in the spring of 1960, began to work on opening employment opportunities and educating employers to the practice of merit hiring. Although we had been unable to interest a businessman to head such a committee (a Council weakness is the lack of contact with the business community), we proceeded with our available resources. One member offered to make a file of employers who might possibly be interested (obtained from a leading citizen who was not a Council member); and the Council president asked several members to interview those on the list (1) to find out where Negroes were employed above the unskilled level and (2) to gently expound the benefits of merit hiring and to leave some literature on the subject (from the American Friends Service Committee).

Several Council members felt they could manage a couple of interviews although they did not have time for regular committee work. From this initial start, the following has developed in a year:

1. A member with professional personnel experience offered her services as secretary of an Employment Committee until a businessman chairman could be found (she actually serves as chairman).

2. She conducted a survey of 42 employers which disclosed that 36 employ 175 Negroes in skilled positions; such as, secretary, comptroller, clerk handling, cash register, sales girl, mechanic, venetian blind serviceman, chemist. Additional members volunteered or were asked to conduct interviews and join committee.

3. A press release on the survey and reprint of newspaper account were sent to all interviewed employers, City Council members, and to 14 utility and chain store managers in the area.

Alexandria

(Continued)

4. The first dozen replies from employers were bland and meaningless until the Safeway Grocery Stores, a large chain, replied by asking for an appointment for three of their officials with our employment chairman. They informed her that they were extending to Northern Virginia the store's policy of merit employment which they said worked well elsewhere in the country. Later, they extended the policy as far south as Richmond.

5. The local Safeway manager called on our chairman and asked her to find qualified Negro applicants for several specific openings.

6. The Council asked board members and ministers to help locate applicants and the guidance director of the local Negro high school was told of the openings. Within three days, a Negro woman was employed as cashier by a local Safeway.

Utility Companies

The Council is continuing talks with some utility companies with laregly desegregated operations in Washington. This is an effort to convince the companies that Northern Virginia is ready to change some of its economic and social anachronisms. At least one utility is sensitive to what the Council is saying. The Fairfax and Arlington councils also have written letters urging extension of merit hiring into the area.

The Council's employment committee has had advice from specialists at the Washington Urban League and the example and advice of the District Job Opportunities Committee which is composed of leading businessmen. We were advised to emphasize merit and good business advantages and omit appeals to morality or justice. We also were advised that it is more effective to begin with national chain stores with nondiscriminatory policies outside the South.

City Employment

Since only a few skilled Negroes are employed by the city with no Negro policemen and firemen, the Council also decided to work toward more equal opportunity in this area. Our efforts last year to provide qualified Negro applicants for policemen resulted in two taking the test but neither was accepted. We have talked with the city personnel director and we now are making a concerted effort to send qualified applicants for all kinds of jobs to that office. One-question questionnaires have been sent to all City Council candidates in the forthcoming election asking their stand on merit employment. The replies are favorable and will form the basis of further work with city officials immediately after the election.

Issues not of our making in the field of housing, as in lunch-counter desegregation, have arisen; and we have made them a springboard from which to inform the public of injustice and propose approaches and solutions to problems. A proposal to locate a high school which necessitated the moving of long-settled Negro families and the eruption of a slum ownership scandal highlighted poor housing conditions for Negroes, especially the almost complete absence of homes available for middle income Negroes.

The Council survey showed that 90% of the Negro teachers live outside the city, as do 15 to 19 ministers, six of the seven doctors and seven of the eight lawyers. The Washington newspapers gave good coverage to the high school location problem and slums and so unexpected publicity also was given to housing needs. This was an unlooked for lift for our policy of confrontation of the public by facts. Fortunately, the Washington newspapers are interested in reporting racial matters and the Council is emerging from a state of timidity about publicity to a realization of its helpfulness. This state of affairs, we believe, is, in itself, a reflection of an improving climate.

After attempting a community education program on race relations through the churches and meeting complete silence, the president asked the co-chairmen in charge of this effort to work with a Housing Committee. Due to the interest and concern in the housing situation, the Council established a 13-member committee divided into specific tasks.

Housing Project

The Council's major project will be to attempt to help develop pockets of land presently owned by Negroes for Negro homes. This land now is being sold off rapidly for other purposes. Private financing and building now can be obtained because of the increasing recognition of the demands, but new land for Negro homes in Alexandria is nonexistent. The races have lived side by side for generations in Old Town and other parts of the city, but economic changes in upgrading of prices tend to push the resident Negroes out and custom will not permit other Negroes with adequate incomes to buy into the area.

Playground Program

The Council has worked in many areas including some minor problems. A year ago a discouraging incident occurred when a recreation department official told a Negro boy he could not play in the city summer school playground program at a desegregated school. The incident was reported to the mother of a boy who was present — one of our white members. When the Council decided to take action, we found ourselves stymied as the responsibility was passed round and round through City Council, City Manager, and the Recreation Department. With lunch counters, employment, and housing occupying our energies, the Council did not press the matter until spring rolled around again; and we realized the same thing was likely to occur again.

Then, three Council members wrote a letter to City Council requesting that city-operated playgrounds be opened on a neighborhood basis to all properly-behaved children. City Council referred the matter to the Mayor's Committee, which favored the request, and City Council through the City Manager so ordered. Here again, we only started the action by confrontation of responsible people with the injustice. This appears to be another paper wall which probably will be a relief to have removed—but some group first had to point out the existence of the problem.

The Council also has made a statement to the School Board favoring local assignment of pupils and will continue

Alexandria

(Continued)

to repeat it until this policy is adopted. We also plan to make statements favoring the adoption of compulsory school attendance. Both of these actions now are open to localities under state law.

A brief, readable fact sheet, "Some Facts about the Negro Citizen in Alexandria—Education, Employment, Housing, Public Service, Recreation," has just been mailed to 800 community leaders. The Council believes many persons are not aware of the arbitrary deprivation of opportunity and responsibility for a tenth of Alexandria's citizens and we ask them what Alexandria is gaining by this deprivation.

Frankly, we are amazed at the rapid pace and calm acceptance of change. A year ago many problems seemed overwhelming. But the Council made a small concrete start where we were and with what we had and have been rewarded beyond hope with interest, money, volunteers, and tangible accomplishment. At membership meetings, a series of information and action programs were presented on two specific topics—employment and housing. The Council has not had a "name" speaker on general topics for almost two years. The monthly Newsletter constantly emphasizes action that members can take, such as writing letters and calling on managers of stores patronized; to offer public support for change of policy in lunch counters and employment. Evidence of public support for change is needed, we believe, in order to counteract the fearful clinging to the status quo.

The Council will actively follow up on federal government directives requiring additional merit employment in all federal agencies, installations, and government contracts. This is a fruitful field of action throughout the South with its many federal installations. It also could have an important influence, we think, on private employment.

The Council policy is to work with and through more influential groups whenever possible—to confront responsible groups with the facts. Progress to date has been without appreciable aid from either churches or businessmen as a group. As a future project, the Council would like to make available to these groups program suggestions on immunizing racial fears, facts about race, economic costs of discrimination, etc.

Those of us who work with the Council feel it is a privilege to be on the cutting edge of social change, to help reduce the discrepancy between what we practice and what we preach in America, and to lift some of the South's burden of racial fear and distrust.

"The Freedom Ride," a special report from the Southern Regional Council, concerns the "Freedom Riders" and the Alabama riots, including press reaction, etc. Available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, at 10¢ per copy. (Mimeographed)

"Prevent Future Incidents Of Mob Action, Bloodshed"

50 Members

of

Montgomery

Ministerial Association

The following resolution was adopted by approximately fifty members of the Montgomery Ministerial Association.

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That as the Montgomery Ministerial Association we express our shock and sorrow at events of violence and mob action that have recently happened in Montgomery.

2. That we express our concern that all necessary steps be taken to prevent future incidents of mob action and bloodshed.

3. That we call on all authorities and all citizens and all groups within and without the state to restrain themselves during the crisis from action and statements of an inflammatory nature. We must learn to live together in peace in Montgomery. If agreement does not exist now as to how this can be accomplished, Christian people and especially our public officials are called upon to help provide a climate in which progress can be made and problems dealt with that rules out violence and bloodshed.

4. That we join the lay group who met Saturday night and all other lay and civic groups who do not condone recent events.

5. That we designate next Sunday, May 28, 1961, as a day of prayer and that all our people be urged to attend church to pray for divine guidance through these difficult days.

Arch MacNair, President
John Lambert, Secretary.

Students Bear Witness

The Board of Managers of United Church Women, meeting in Buffalo, New York, April 25, 1961, expresses its belief that in the great movements for racial justice and the world-wide protests against all forms of segregation, God is working out His purposes. This belief and our belief in the dignity of all men we have expressed in unequivocal statements on numerous occasions.

We give thanks for these movements. We give thanks for those within the churches in all parts of the nation who are helping the churches witness in their practice to God's love for every man. We confess with penitence, however, that churches bearing the name of Jesus Christ are for the most part so largely segregated, when by the imperatives of their faith Christians are called to leadership in witnessing to the unity of mankind.

We recognize the various ways, including the kneel-ins, by which both Negro and white students and many other persons are bearing witness to this faith. We give thanks for their courage and perseverance; we offer them every encouragement and support.

We urge all church women to receive all worshippers as children of the one Father and to dedicate themselves anew to efforts to wipe out segregation in the corporate life and worship of our churches and councils of church women.

"Condemn Lawlessness"

We share the pain and humiliation of all those who suffered from the ferocious inhumanity which erupted in Birmingham last Sunday. We condemn the conduct of lawless persons who perpetrated the violent attacks upon others. We deplore the absence of the forewarned law enforcement agencies.

The failure of responsible officials to restrain violence at Anniston and Birmingham was clearly in violation of Article 1, Paragraph 35 of the Alabama constitution, which reads in part that "the sole object and only legitimate end of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property."

We join with the conscience of the Birmingham press, radio, TV, and other responsible leadership in recognizing the suffering on the part of communications personnel was required to bring to light brutality which has long been existent in Alabama. Signed statements of such brutality against Negroes and white alike, some inflicted at the hands of the police, are available.

We believe in a growing community unhindered by lawelessness and resultant industrial loss. When, by the common effort of its citizens, Birmingham will use the lesson of the recent tragedy to remove tension and disorder, a rehabilitated prestige will foster the growth of the community for the benegt of all.

The Greater Birmingham Council
on Human Relations.
May 16, 1961.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"We, the people—the newspaper people, the lawyers, the executives, the labor leaders, the clergy and the average household workers and businessmen permitted a condition to arise that let intolerance and brutality take over in Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery."

The Birmingham *News*

* * *

"There is need for law enforcement officials—and that should include a call from the Governor of this state to state investigators and highway patrolmen—to apprehend those responsible for the burning of the bus and the assaults on individuals in the Birmingham and Anniston stations."

The Tuscaloosa *News*

* * *

"The incidents Sunday [May 14, 1961, in Birmingham] serve only to intensify the campaign for an immediate breakdown of the racial barriers in the Deep South."

The Huntsville *Times*

"His [Governor Patterson's] explanation that crowds were gathering in several Alabama towns through which the CORE group would pass was no excuse whatsoever. Law is law and authorities are fully equipped by the public and at the public expense to handle disorder. If this can't be done then the Governor or anybody else would be admitting that potential anarchy existed in Alabama."

The Birmingham *News*

* * *

"I do not know of anything that could be done to prevent further integration in the public schools."

Delegate James M. Thomas
Alexandria, Virginia
Quoted in *Washington Post*
April 26, 1961

* * *

"Those who took the law into their own hands in both Birmingham and Anniston need to be ferretted out and punished by proper authorities. Mob rules must never be condoned."

Opelika *Daily News*

The Changing South in Print!

As I have often said before, the NEW SOUTH publication, published by the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, is one of the best magazines describing human relations here in our country today . . . . Charles Steele, Louisville, Kentucky, *Defender*, May 4, 1961.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE